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"Our Daily Bread" (Matt.6.11) in the History of Exegesis

David Hill

In studying the history of exegesis of the Lord's prayer - for which Jean Carmignac's Recherches sur le 'Notre Père' is a veritable mine of information - I have been struck by a radical shift of emphasis in the 4th and 5th centuries, and again in the 16th century, as to the meaning of the words "our daily bread" in the fourth petition.

It is well-known that the term ἐπιούσιος has been something of an exegetical conundrum from the earliest days of interpretation. According to Origen, writing AD 233-4 in his treatise Concerning Prayer (Chapter 27)

/1, this adjective - which is only doubtfully attested outside the Lord's Prayer - /2 - may be derived from ἐπειναι (in which case the phrase will mean "the bread necessary for life") or from ἐπιεναι (to give the meaning "the bread for the coming day or age"). Origen himself preferred the first interpretation. As to the meaning of the "bread" in the fourth petition, some of the early exegetes maintained that it referred to spiritual bread, the food required by our souls, while others were equally sure that it meant the ordinary bread we need for our bodies. A third and more complex interpretation - which includes both the meanings "material bread for the body" and "spiritual bread for the soul" - is found, but the circumstances surrounding the emergence of this view were very different in the Eastern and Western wings of the Church. Whereas in the East the mixed interpretation came into being rather late and as a reaction against the exclusive claims of the other two views (urged by Origen and the Antiochene school respectively), in the West the mixed interpretation is not a compromise between the proponents of the spiritual and the material senses of the petition, but is, in fact, the oldest interpretation formulated as early as Tertullian. The Western Fathers (according to Carmignac) knew instinctively that the "bread" in the Lord's Prayer has both material value and spiritual value, though it appears the primacy was given to the latter. The view of the Western Church may well have been influenced by the fact that ἐπιούσιος was

presented by quotidianus ("daily") in the Old Latin
On /3 which was already used by Tertullian at the
of the 2nd century. In interpreting the fourth
petition in his On Prayer (chapter 6) Tertullian does not
take the bread for the body, but thinks that the allusion
is especially to the Eucharist. Writing fifty years later,
Augustine makes quite precise Tertullian's double
interpretation: "Each interpretation", he says, "the literal
and the spiritual, is useful for salvation" (De dominica
oratione, 18,19). /5

It is of interest to note that Augustine - when all his
exegeses to and exegeses of the fourth petition are taken
into account - offers a threefold interpretation of the
fourth petition: (a) the bread for the body, and (b) two daily
"meals" or sustenances for the spirit, the Eucharist and
the Word of God (corresponding to the invisible and visible
elements). /6 This was to stand as virtually the
official theory in the West up to, and even through, the
Middle Ages,

and in the East it was different, and not least because the
Greeks there were directly confronted by the question of
the etymology of the strange word ἐπιούσιος. Following
Origen, the Greek Fathers explain the adjective in terms
of (a) ἐπί + οὐσία (substance) derived from ἐπείνα, and
(b) ἐπιέναι (to come upon) and, in particular, as
forming the participial phrase ἡ ἐπιούσα (ἡμέρα), "the
coming day". If the first etymology is followed, one ends
up with the meaning either "beyond substance" (supersub-
stantialis) or "sufficient; required by, necessary to,
etc.". If the second etymology is preferred, then the
meaning of ἐπιούσιος becomes either "for the coming day"
(without ceasing), i.e., the quotidianus of the Old Latin,
or "for the coming day" (now, at present), and, depending
on whether the prayer is offered in the morning or the
evening, that denotes "for today" or "for tomorrow".

In the oldest detailed exposition of the Lord's Prayer
which we possess Origen vigorously defended an exclusively
spiritual meaning of the fourth petition on the basis of
ἐπιούσιος and ἄρτος. The bread is the substantial
Word which is, in the light of John 6.51 and 53-57, nour-
ishment from above, the flesh of Christ: the bread is the
living bread which the soul needs for its spiritual life.

Origen's authority exercised a profound influence on subsequent Greek exegesis. Cyril of Jerusalem (c. 350AD) interprets the ἐπιούσιος ἄρτος as "the sacred bread which is distributed for the sustenance of the soul" (Catechism 23). /7 Marius Victorinus (c.359) first confuses ἐπιούσιος and ὁμοούσιος (and launches into an argument against the Arians!) but then picks up Origen's reference to "the living bread that comes down from heaven" and asserts that ἐπιούσιος ἄρτος means the bread of life (the Eucharistic body). Likewise Pseudo-Athanasius (c.365) claims that the fourth petition refers to the future bread of which we have a foretaste when we participate in the flesh of the Lord during the present life. /8 The strength of the spiritual interpretation (and of Origen's exegesis) is witnessed to outside the Greek tradition in the work of Ambrose of Milan (c 38-90) /9 and of Jerome who, in his writings between 390 and 415, tends to equate the "bread beyond all substances" (panis substantialis) with the Eucharistic body of Christ.

At a time when the authority of Origen was dominant it is surprising to find one who revered the great Alexandrian teacher differing from him. This is precisely what Gregory of Nyssa (d.395) does. He begins his exegesis of the fourth petition (On Prayer: Sermon 4) /10 by replacing the ambiguous ἐπιούσιος by ἐφημερος (daily) and by insisting that the bread which is requested is ordinary bread, not spiritual nourishment. "...We have received the command to seek that which is sufficient for the conservation of our corporal existence by saying to God 'Give bread', not pleasure or riches or any such thing as will distract the spirit from its more worthy concern. More interesting still is the fact that Gregory now turns to the lessons which may be inculcated on the basis of the petition, and what he offers amounts to a miniature treatise on social morality. What men actually need (according to Gregory) is very little: therefore the desire and the attempt to accumulate more and more is dangerous and stupid. All things procured that are over and above what is necessary for life derive from the tares put among the grain (in which bread is made) by an enemy, the devil. Excesses of luxury and riches do not belong to the category "bread", which in any case, our nature prepares us to expect to have

work for, to obtain as wages (ὄψωνιον). "A fair and just bread leads to the possession of a good conscience... justice (δικαιοσύνη) and therefore he who gets his bread unfairly (ἐκ πλεονεξίας) is not getting his bread from God. You are in true accord with the petition only if the being of others is maintained, if no one is made hungry or being satisfied, if no one groans by reason of your being filled." And towards the end of the exposition Gregory advises: "Watch your conscience then as you bring request for bread to God, for there is no fellowship between Christ and Belial." In short, bread given by God may only be the honest gain that results from one's own work. Asking God to give us today our daily bread means training our conscience to see if that bread comes to us by work that does no injustice to our neighbour.

This "social-gospel" reading of the fourth petition of the Lord's prayer continues into the 5th century with John Chrysostom. In Homily 19 on St. Matthew 11 he observes: "God does not command us to ask riches or pleasures or clothes, or anything like that, but simply bread, and daily bread, so that we are without anxiety about tomorrow.... And not content with that he adds, 'Give us this day our daily bread' in order to exclude from our spirits concern with the following day."

These observations are in order at this point. First, in reaching the correct interpretation of the fourth petition of the Lord's Prayer Origen and Gregory come to radically different conclusions on the meaning of "bread": for the former it is spiritual nourishment, and for the latter it is material bread. In the second place, we should note that Gregory took a remarkable hermeneutical step: he went on to ask what bread meant for his own contemporaries; and, since bread was gained by work accomplished according to God's command and order, the exegesis of the petition became a study in the work ethic. One can only surmise that Gregory's interpretation reflects a more direct concern on the part of ecclesiastical authority and leadership, in some connection with the issue of labour and its just rewards, than what we would call, "social problems". There is no need to discuss the impact on morality when "the daily bread" is understood as something wholly, or primarily, spiritual. If it is understood as ordinary bread, the way is open for

responsible exposition to deal with matters of social justice.

The Shift in 16th century exegesis

The Middle Ages, as has been said, generally followed the tradition of the Latin Fathers, and especially Augustine, who taught that we should look to God both for the material bread we need for our bodies: this spiritual food - the more important food - consists of the Word of God and the Eucharist. A view very similar to this finds expression in the early works of Luther. In a sermon (dated to 1519) under the title "Explanation of the Lord's Prayer in popular language, for the use of simple lay-people" /12 he says that: "We are not principally asking for the ordinary bread that the Gentiles eat and which God, without anyone asking for it, gives to all men; rather, we are asking for....a celestial bread which is appropriate and necessary for us as heavenly children. We are asking God to give us supernatural bread, our special bread." After observing that in Scripture the holy Word of God is also called bread, Luther continues in this vein: "Christ our bread is given externally by Word and Sacrament, and internally by the teaching of God himself." In "A short formula for understanding and praying the Lord's Prayer, for children in the Christian faith" /13 there is no mention of material bread at all: "the bread is our Lord Jesus Christ who nourishes and rejoices the soul", received in the Sacrament and indwelling the Christian. This interpretation is found in works dated to 1520, "A short model of the Commandments of the faith, and of the Lord's Prayer" /14 and in the Booklet on Prayer /15 (including the Lord's Prayer) dated to 1522.

Two sermons from March 9-10, 1523 /16 show Luther's thought evolving: up to this point he had given priority to the spiritual interpretation. Now he accords equal importance to the material bread. "There is a corporal bread and there is a spiritual bread, because one can ask for all blessings from him who nourishes not only the soul but also the body." Three years later, in a paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer contained in the German Mass /17

interprets the fourth petition as follows: "that
we want to give us our daily bread, to keep us from
want and from care about nourishment, and to give us the
presence in him that he will provide for all our needs."
Luther on May 27, 1528 /18 admits the spiritual
interpretation of "daily bread" but effectively concentrates
on the material sense. In a sermon on September 22, 1528
Luther develops only the material interpretation, and
after makes no allusion to the spiritual bread when he
explaining the Lord's Prayer. Thus the Luther of the
Large and Small Catechisms /20 can include in "daily
bread" our bodily needs in general. "What does 'daily
bread' mean? Response: All that forms part of the nourish-
ment and support of the body, something to eat and drink,
clothes, shoes, a house, money and goods...."

Why does Luther abandon the traditional exegesis he had
advocated? Gerhard Ebeling /21 thinks that it
illustrates Luther's general dislike of the allegorical
interpretation of Scripture. Two criticisms may be made
of his explanation. In the first place, Luther shows his
disapproval of allegorical interpretations of scripture
long before he departed from it in the case of Matt 6.11.
Secondly, when he does depart from it in the case of
"daily bread" he extends the literal meaning of bread quite
considerably, to the point where it becomes virtually
universal (allegorical?), as in the Catechisms. Ingemar
Lundberg /22 tries to explain the change by suggesting
an analogy with the second table of the Decalogue,
where Luther wanted to place the second half of the Lord's Prayer
in the social context of love for the neighbour. But
his hypothesis there is no support whatever in what
Luther actually says. It should be recalled that as early
as 1519 "Explanation of the Lord's Prayer" Luther shows
that he is aware of the material interpretation but did not
think it the principal meaning: this is the position he
takes in 1528. In his famous work The Protestant Ethic
and the Spirit of Capitalism /23 Max Weber has demonstrat-
ed that during this same period Luther's thought was
undergoing a significant evolution in respect of the
importance of vocation or profession (Beruf). Earlier
Luther had considered work under the rubric of adiaphora

(things indifferent), but, as the Reformation became involved in current events, the ethical value of work gained importance. If the growth of a socio-ethical evaluation of work parallels the shift in Luther's exegesis of "daily bread", may it not even be said to have, at least in part, influenced it?

The spiritual interpretation of the fourth petition of the Lord's Prayer appealed only to Zwingli among the Reformers. In his Enarrationes on the Four Gospels (1522) Martin Bucer holds only to the material interpretation. "Certain people", he says (alluding to Erasmus), "understand by daily bread the nourishment of the soul because they think it unworthy that in a prayer so heavenly we should be asking for the bread which even the heathen receive." "But", he goes on, "since Christ added 'today' in order to prevent anxiety about nourishment, I prefer to understand, with Chrysostom, by this daily bread, nourishment and all the other things the body needs. Indeed, if we were asking for the spiritual nourishment for the soul, we would have to add 'for ever' rather than 'today'".

In the first edition (1536) of his Institutes of the Christian Religion Calvin follows Bucer's position, and in his French Catechism (1537) reveals his indebtedness to Luther's Smaller Catechism: "We are asking for all those things that belong to the needs of our body,not only food and clothing, but all that God knows is expedient for us in order that we may eat our bread in peace." The 1542 edition of the Institutes - which rejects Lefèvre d'Etaples (1522) rendering "pain supersubstantiel", the celestial bread come down from heaven to feed us - has a lengthy discussion of the fourth petition of the Lord's Prayer. /24 Familiar are the comments that the petition helps to bridge cupidity by focussing our attention on what is necessary and encouraging us to ask for it with confidence, but very intriguing (and very similar to what we found in Gregory of Nyssa) is Calvin's statement regarding "our bread", viz., that he does not disagree with those who think that our daily bread means "the bread that we gain through our just labour, without harm to another and without any fraud, for whatever is acquired wickedly is never ours." To whom this alludes is not

but the observation shows Calvin's willingness to
"daily bread" in the wider context of work and
ee.

When we pray the Lord's Prayer today it seldom occurs
that the daily bread for which we ask means anything
more than regular nourishment for the body. For
emphasis we are indebted to Calvin and the later work
there. It is of considerable hermeneutical importance
the interpretation runs counter to centuries of tradit-
which the stress lay only or primarily on a
literal interpretation. At the end of the fourth century
case of Gregory of Nyssa it was not merely a matter
literalness of the Antiochene school of exegesis
ling over the allegorizing tendencies of Origen and
Adria. Something more is involved: once the exegete
decided that the correct interpretation of the fourth
word of the Lord's Prayer is in terms of material bread,
ends that the interpretation "bread" adequately entails
tion of his concerns to matters of justice and the
ethic. Again in the sixteenth century the rediscovery
ethical aspects of work (when the structures of human
ity are considered as the expression of the divine will)
influence Luther's exegesis of the petition away from
tradition which understood it in terms of spiritual
ishment to a more socially-oriented physical sense. It
be hard to deny that twice in the history of exegesis
the Lord's Prayer a radical shift in the interpretation
our daily bread" accompanied, or was accompanied by, a
socially-aware valuation of bread.

Migne, PG, Vol II, col. 509-517

Cf. "How many times does ἐπιούσιος occur outside the
s Prayer?" ET 69 (1957-58), pp.52-54; Historical
Literary Studies (1968), pp 64-66.

Undoubtedly the same sense is intended by the Old
c version (Sinaiticus and Cureton) when they use
which roughly means "continual".

Migne, PL, Vol I, Col. 1160-61

Notes (Continued)

5. Migne, PL, Vol IV, Col. 535-62
6. Cf. especially de Sermone Domini in monte, Book 2, chapter 7 (Migne, PL, Vol XXXIV, col.1280-81) and Sermons 57 and 59 (Migne, PL, Vol XXXVIII, Col.389 and 401)
7. Migne, PG, Vol XXXIII, Col.1120
8. Migne, PG, Vol XXVI, col.1012
9. On the Sacraments, Book 5, chapter 4 (Migne, PL, Vol XVI, col.450-54)
10. Migne. PG, Vol XLIV, col.1168-76
11. Migne, PG, Vol LVII, col. 280
12. Werke, II, pp74-128
13. ibid, VI, pp9-19
14. ibid, VII, pp220-29
15. ibid, X, pp395-407
16. ibid, XI, pp55-57, 57-59
17. ibid, XIX, pp95-96
18. ibid, XXX, Part 1, p14
19. ibid, XXX, Part 1, pp46-50
20. ibid, XXX, Part 1, pp195-211 (Large Catechism) and pp298-309 (Smaller Catechism)
21. G. Ebeling, An Introduction to Luther's Thought (ET, Collins 1970) pp101f and 107f
22. L. Furberg, Die Paternoster in der Mass (Lund, Gleerup 1968)
23. M. Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (ET, Scribner's, New York 1958), chapter 3
24. L'Institution Chrétienne (Labor et Fides: Genève 1958) Book 3, pp378-81.

D.R.G. Beattie

the name Βοωνηρρες (Mark iii 17) represents a transliteration from Hebrew or Aramaic has long been acknowledged. That the first part reflects an 'emphatic' בּוֹי is readily acceptable,¹ but the second part raises problems which have not yet been solved".² ³ has suggested that the Semitic original of ρες be the Aramaic רגז "anger", although he thinks "noise, uproar" to be more likely.

The trouble with these suggestions is that neither of the words proposed means "thunder".⁴ Furthermore, it appears that the men who translated the gospel into Greek were unable to see any meaning in the strange form Βοωνηρρες, although in general they experienced no difficulty in re-transliterating Semitic words, even when they had suffered corruption in their Greek dress. Thus, for example, Εφφαθα (Mark vii 34) is "restored" in both the Peshitta and the Sinaitic text to ܐܦܬܬܚܝܬ, which is pure Syriac, but ܚܬܬ ܦܬܬܬܬܬ which appears in the Old Syriac (Sinaitic) and Peshitta of Mark iii 17, is a transliteration of the Greek text's Βοωνηρρες. The Syriac word for "uproar" would be ܚܬܬ ܦܬܬܬܬܬ. The omission in the gospel text may appear to be this with the suffix of the first person singular, but that is not the case. ܚܬܬ ܦܬܬܬܬܬ is a transliteration of the Greek letters ρες, accommodated to the writing conventions by the addition of a *yudh*, i.e., in view of the Syriac practice of using nouns only in the emphatic state, the only form of a noun which can end phonetically in a consonant is that with the (vocalized and unpronounced) suffix of the first person singular.

If we stand back and look at the whole question from a different point of view, the real problem may be seen to be the existence, in that verse, of the explanation of the word as meaning "sons of thunder". In so far as "thunder" may be used as a metaphor for noise, anger, etc., and so on, it is conceivable that such an

Beattie, Boanerges, IBS 5, January 1983

epithet as "sons of thunder" might be applied to persons of unruly or volatile temperament, and it would be intelligible that such an epithet, once applied, should be explained in plain language. But the situation with the text of Mark iii 17 is just the reverse of this. Here we have what was once, if we accept Dalman's suggestion, a plain statement/5 explained by a figurative one. In short, the problem of Mark iii 17 is that, as matters stand in the search for the original word, it appears that a fairly clear statement has been "explained" by a metaphor.

Since the function of a gloss is to make plain what is otherwise obscure it must be presumed that the composer of the gloss "which means 'sons of thunder'" believed that the expression which he was explaining had this meaning. The question then, in the search for the original of "Boanerges" is, "Can we find a Semitic word meaning 'thunder' and capable of explicable corruption into ργες?"

The obvious suggestion for a Semitic word for 'thunder' must be רעם (which is both Hebrew and Aramaic) or רעים (Aramaic)/6. Is there any way in which רעם (בני) could become (Βοανη) ργες in transliteration? I think there is. Taking רעם letter by letter we may say (a) that the Greek letter *rho* is an accurate transliteration for *resh*; (b) that the letter 'ayin has two phonetic values and, as the Arabic cognate shows, it is the harder form (*ghain*) which occurs in רעם. *Gamma* is a legitimate representation of this phoneme, as is evidenced by LXX's Γαζα for עזה; (c) that the final form of *mem* (ם) may easily be confused with *samech* (ס). In short, we may say that ργες is explicable as an error in transliteration by a scribe who misread רעם as רעס./7.

On this view the gloss "which means 'sons of thunder'" is not an attempt at translating the strange word/8 but the work of one who had a living tradition of the meaning of the original name. The implications of this suggestion for the history of the gospel text, I leave others to draw.

G. Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen aramäisch*², Darmstadt 1960, p.144 n.2, suggests that the reading α has arisen through a conflation of two variant readings. D.W. Gooding has suggested to me privately that there may be, in the double vowel, a (misguided) interpretative element, inasmuch as " $\beta\alpha\alpha$ ", to a Greek-speaker, would suggest a shout or roar.

V. Taylor, *The Gospel according to St Mark*, London 1963, p.232.

loc. cit.

Dalman himself observes (*loc. cit.*), " $\beta\alpha\alpha$ $\beta\rho\omicron\nu\tau\eta\varsigma$ in keinem Fall genaue Übersetzung". Cf. Taylor, *loc. cit.*, "This view ... is weakened by the fact that the ordinary Hebrew word for thunder is רעם."

"Sons of uproar" or "sons of anger" would be a straightforward idiomatic expression for rowdy or insubordinate men, respectively.

We may note here Jerome's observation, in his commentary on Dan. i 7, "... filii Zebedaei appellati sunt filii 'tonitruum', quod non ut plerique putant 'boanerges' sed emendatius legitur 'banereem'".

The vocalization of רעם with "e" is attested in the comment of Jerome (see note 6).

Taylor, *loc. cit.*, "... it may well be that ... $\beta\alpha\alpha$ is a corruption to which Mark has attempted to give what explanation he could".

Steven R. Boguslawski, The Psalms: Prophetic Polemics
Against Sacrifices

The role of sacrificial worship is central to any thoroughgoing investigation of the people of Israel. This past century especially has witnessed a resurgence of critical investigation into the sacrificial cult of Ancient Israel. Concomitantly, a renewed interest in the role of prophecy and in the Psalms as cultic prayer is evident. The cultic worship of the Hebrew people is the common domain of these seemingly disparate disciplines. In several instances within the prophetic texts especially among the pre-exilic prophecies, the question of the authenticity/efficacy of cultic sacrificial worship is raised. Similarly, the Psalter of the Second Temple reflects "residual" elements of these pre-exilic, anti-sacrificial polemics; Psalms 40.6-8, 50.7-15; 51.16 and 141.2, for example. Might lex orandi, lex credendi be applicable in these specific instances?

Because the Psalms constitute the "prayer of the people of God", and include reference against sacrificial worship, they must be jointly considered with similar prophetic texts. Indeed, some scholars, e.g. Sigmund Mowinckel, posit a direct relationship between an institutional, prophetic role in Israelite cultic worship and Psalm form and content: "There is a.... connection between....(the) view of sacrifice and the relation of the prophets to the sacrificial cult - namely insofar as the prophets had representatives among the Temple personnel to whom we owe the Psalms." /1 Herman Gunkel had previously identified the "prophetic tendencies" of the Psalter as a consequence of prophetic teaching. However, he also concluded that "laments", for example, "were evidence of the emancipation of religious piety from the cult and expressions of a custom originating within circles of pious laymen...." /2 And this view was widely regarded "in earlier psalm interpretation, which had not yet discovered the connection between psalmography and Temple service. Even Gunkel, who had seen the connection, still maintain(ed) that most Psalms (were) private poetry." /

Frankel, however, contends that "the presence of such material could be accounted for only on the theory that it was composed by prophets who were themselves members of the sanctuary personnel." /4 The issue is by no means decided. Hence, three strands of Israel's life are interwoven: sacrificial worship; the function and teachings of pre-exilic prophets; and Psalm content and form. Therefore, the aforementioned Psalms must especially be considered as they portray an anti-sacrificial polemic and reflect an evolution in the religious piety of the Hebrew people.

The Prophets and the Cult

Before the above task may be undertaken, the role of elite sacrificial worship must be explored. Was sacrificial worship indigenous to Israel from her institution as a people by Covenant? What is the prophetic attitude toward cultic worship, especially reflected in Amos 5.21-25 and Jeremiah 7, for example? (Did the prophets absolutely opposed to cultic sacrifice, or do they reflect a relative opposition?) And, finally, do Psalms 40, 50, 51 and 141 reflect an absolute or mitigated opposition to cultic, sacrificial worship? Perhaps such citations are merely remnants of mitigated, pre-exilic, prophetic polemics found in the post-exilic period, yet they may embody a more primitive, anti-sacrificial tradition. The first two strands will be considered together: sacrificial worship (and its indigenous nature) and the pre-exilic, prophetic function and attitude toward the cult. The pertinent Psalms, the third strand will then be exegeted.

Amos and Jeremiah: Relevant Texts.

The text of Amos shall serve as the primary exemplar. (Other prophetic texts will be cited as appropriate).

Amos prophesied in the mid-eighth century BC under the kings of Israel and Uzziah of Judah. His prophecy primarily concerns the northern kingdom, Israel, though Samaria's infidelity does not escape his view. Amos was acutely aware of Israel's movement away from God, as witnessed especially in the cult. Here where moral faith had, generally, slipped into

immorality and syncretism.

The book of Amos begins with "seven uniform strophes... working toward a climax." /5 (Amos 1.3-2.16). A judgment on the surrounding nations of Israel is delineated for atrocities of war. The nations are culpable since the will of the "God of History" is known to them albeit imperfectly. They do not escape judgment. Israel, more pointedly, is judged for her atrocities in peace. The sons of Israel had become enemies - one to another - therefore God was now their enemy. Greed, injustice, bribery in the courts, and oppression of the poor and defenceless provoke the impending reckoning. "Prepare to meet your God, O Israel!" (Amos 4.12) What emerges from this description of grave infidelity is a peculiar posture toward cultic worship which is specifically our concern. The prophetic utterances are striking:

Come to Bethel, and transgress;
to Gilgal, and multiply transgression;
Bring your sacrifices every morning,
your tithes every three days.
Offer a sacrifice of thanksgiving
of that which is leavened;
and proclaim freewill offering, publish them,
for so you love to do, O people of Israel!
says the Lord God.

(Amos 4.4-5)

Amos' biting sarcasm illustrates the incongruity of Yahweh's will and Israel's worship. The proclamation, cast in the form of priestly torah, heightens the juxtaposition of Israel's behaviour and Yahweh's desire for righteousness and justice. "Come to the sanctuary and SIN. Multiply your transgression!" /6 The paradox underscores infidelity. "Amos usurps the role of the priest and exhorts the congregation in a shocking parody of ecclesiastical language that must have sounded like irreverent blasphemy." /7 He strikes at the heart of cultic worship. The initial zebah sacrifice, (understood as a communion meal) and the tithe, (a

tion of the land's yield), are pejoratively "mandated." The frequency of cultic offering, every day and every third day respectively, multiplies transgression. So too the freewill offerings, meant to be a modus operandi of praise and thanksgiving arising from personal devotion, are blasphemous. The freewill offerings are sullied - they are published and proclaimed - by the motives of the offerer. Amos' caustic parody of "priestly exhortation" concludes with the declaration: "for so you love to do, people of Israel!", rather than the normative formula, "for I am Yahweh, your God!" Amos' meaning is clear. It is not the Lord, but the self of Israel which is the ground of their worship." /8

God has chastized his people, yet they do not return to him (4.8-11). Amidst Amos' dirge for the fallen nation (5.2), the sacrificial polemic intensifies. Cultic sanctuaries are not the locus of proper worship. Thus his prophecies:

For thus says the Lord to the House of Israel:

Seek me and live;

but do not seek Bethel,

and do not enter into Gilgal

or cross over to Beer-sheba...(Amos 5.4-5)

Amos replaces the sites of worship with "He Who is" to be worshipped. He urges the people to seek Yahweh and thereby live. Amos imitates the torah of sanctuary officials, and, in effect, turning it against the cult. In the mouth of the officiating priests the exhortation is an instruction to turn to Yahweh as the source of life, to come to the sanctuary where He was present to receive the dispensation of the blessing that conferred security and prosperity." /9 But the torah of officialdom does not explicitly require nor effect the needed change of heart. Proof surrounds the prophet. The priests of the sanctuaries validate worship as a separate, unrelated activity within the context of daily life. Therefore Amos declares that "Gilgal shall go into exile, and Bethel shall come to naught." (Amos 5.5). Those who persist with insincere worship shall come to naught as well, because these sites are under Yahweh's judgment.

Furthermore, Amos addresses those who have "turned justice to wormwood" and have "cast down righteousness to the earth." (5.6) The "doing of justice", therefore, remains the significant "clause" in sustaining the covenantal relationship with God. Indeed God's righteousness makes the unwavering demand. Therefore Amos proceeds to the scathing, descriptive violations of mispat (ordinance) and sedaga (righteousness). The conjunction of these texts is not a casual rendering of perceived sin. Rather Amos charges that the tenuous link, the covenantal requisite of the "doing of justice", has been ruptured. The sanctuary cult of officialdom proffers an empty "guarantee" of righteousness, deceptively bolstered by the acts of Yahweh in the past. But the "Day of the Lord" - the anticipated vindication of God's elect - would be "darkness, not light, and gloom with no brightness in it." (5.20). Amos here captures the essence of smug self-satisfaction and turns the hope of vindication into stern chastisement. Next follows his most forceful repudiation of cultic practice, a theme echoed in the Psalms:

I hate, I despise your feasts,
 and I take no delight in your solemn assemblies.
 Even though you offer me your burnt offerings and
 cereal offerings,
I will not accept them
 and the peace-offerings of your fatted beasts
 I will not look upon.
 Take away from me the noise of your songs:
 to the melody of your harps I will not listen.
 But let justice roll down like waters,
 and righteousness like an ever-flowing stream,
 5.21-24

Amos leaves no doubt. Yahweh rejects this cult. The individual facets of Israelite worship are refused. Festivals (hag) (v21) and feast days ('sara) are rejected. The former term sometimes refers to the feasts of Unleavened Bread, Weeks and Harvest, while the latter denotes festive times (Isaiah 1.13; Joel 1.14) when the people took a holiday from work to celebrate. Neither the burnt-offering ('ola), nor the communion offering (selem,

boah, s^elamim) are acceptable. Finally, the cultic hymns (ir) of praise shall not be listened to by Yahweh. /10
He does not delight in..., accept..., or look upon these offerings, nor will he listen to....the noise of the songs, or the melodies of the harps. (5.21-24) Once again Amos turns familiar ritual formulae back upon his hearers. He has, in effect, repudiated this cult as a means of wine commerce. Instead, justice and righteousness are counterpoised in images of ample waters and ceaseless streams - a vivid prophetic demand of authentic worship.

Jeremiah (625 BC) also decries the futility of cultic worship rendered by a self-complacent people who place their trust in the possession of the Temple, the locale of ritual sacrifice. He warns:

Do not trust in these deceptive words:

This is the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord
the temple of the Lord

Jeremiah 7.4.

accuses them:

Behold, you do trust in deceptive words to no avail.

Will you steal, commit adultery, swear falsely, burn incense to Baal, and go after other gods you have not known and then come and stand before me in this house, which is called by my name, and say, "We are delivered - only to go on doing all these abominations?"

Jeremiah 7. 8-10

The people are adjudged guilty of grave infidelity. The prophet sees his callous co-religionists alienated from Yahweh. Their hearts are hardened and cult is a reflection of the general malaise. Jeremiah prophesies that "though they fast, I will not hear their cry, and though they offer burnt offerings and cereal offering, I will not accept them....." Yahweh rejects the sacrifice of impenitent peoples who spurn justice:

Hear, O earth; behold, I am bringing evil upon these people,

the fruit of their devices,
Because they have not given heed to my words and
as for my law, they have rejected it.

To what purpose does frankincense come to me from Sheba
Or sweet cane from a distant land?
Your burnt offerings are not acceptable
nor are your sacrifices pleasing to me.

Jeremiah 6. 19-22

This brief survey of texts from Jeremiah makes it evident that the prophet inveighs against cultic, sacrificial worship, divorced from concomitant, covenantal concerns, viz mispat (justice), sedaga (righteousness) and hesed (mercy). The need for reform is evident.

Moreover, Jeremiah rejects, not only the efficacy of such sacrificial worship, he challenges its very origin. He contends that Yahweh did not demand sacrifice by the Hebrews during the Exodus and implies a deeper inauthenticity of the cult. The already familiar messenger formula begins this harsh pronouncement:

Thus says the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel:

"Add your burnt offerings to your sacrifices, and eat the flesh. For in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt, I did not speak to your fathers or command them concerning burnt offerings. But this command I gave them, 'Obey my voice, and I will be your God, and you shall be my people; and walk in all the way that I command you, that it may be well with you.'"

Jeremiah 7. 21-23

What God demands is obedience to his voice. Jeremiah, like fellow-reform prophets, summons his hearers to "walk in the way of the Lord". However, he was not the first to have raised an objection to the seemingly indigenous nature of sacrifice simultaneous to Israel's constitution as a people peculiarly of the Lord. Amos earlier had posed the question: "Did you bring to me sacrifices and offerings the forty years in the wilderness O house of Israel?" (Amos 5.24) The provocative question urges a negative response that God did not require sacrifice in the desert. For Jeremiah, such an understanding ought not to be improper. He was flatly opposed to Davidic theology and thought in the Deuteronomist's terms of a covenant which requires obedience in manner of life. Amos' opposition to cult is already

justice at the city gate characterizes his concept of true worship. And so the matter remains: Are the texts a forthright repudiation of all sacrificial worship? Or might the "tradition" in which Amos and Isaiah stand be so overwhelmingly concerned with the work of God in the Exodus, Wilderness and Conquest, and the covenants of the Covenant".....such that "the religiously true (rejection of bad cult) is raised to a salient fact in order to set the folly of the (people) in sharpest relief?" /11

Answers to the foregoing questions must be qualified in terms of highest probability. There is no definitive answer. But the prophetic function within the cult and the sacrificial polemics found in the Psalms must be considered to yield such probability.

Prophetic Function and the Cult

Some scholars envisage the prophets as unalterably opposed to the cult, the so-called "Absolutists". Julius Wellhausen's Prolegomena to the History of Israel (1855) presents such a posture. He has been succeeded by various proponents of "absolute prophetic opposition", among them J.E. McFadyen who writes, "If the prophets mean what they say, they were unquestionably the implacable enemies of the cult; and if it is argued that so bold a denunciation of the ritual....is inconceivable, it may be asserted that with men of their insight and calibre, it is precisely the inconceivable that is possible." /12 Edouard de Vaux, O.P. arrives at similar conclusions in Le Sacrifice en Israël (1964), based on the dating of the Pentateuchal texts after Amos. He believes that Jer.7.22 and Amos 5.25 not only "condemn the idolatrous cult practised by their contemporaries" /13 but also indeed deny the origin and practice of sacrificial worship during the "wilderness period".

Other scholars hold a mitigated view, i.e. that the prophets are characterized as opposed to cult only in a relative manner. H.H. Rowley presents this view succinctly: ".....There is no reason to suppose that the prophets condemned the cultus as such, but only the cultus as it was regarded as an end in itself." /14 He notes that the polemics usually involve a condemnation of

covenantal infidelity - an unnecessary element if the prophets solely desire to condemn cultic practice and origin. Furthermore, Rowley, in Worship in Ancient Israel posits an interrelatedness of prophets and cult in an official capacity, a result of Gunkel's studies mentioned above. However, Rowley urges caution by making an important distinction: although elements of prophetic teaching and style are evident within the Psalter, "this does not justify...supposing that all prophets had such (an official capacity), especially in view of inner divisions among the prophets" themselves. /15 These cultic prophets were sanctioned functionaries, participating in official services, not self-appointed, non-affiliated seers frequenting the Temple court. Mowinckel similarly suggests that the prophet may have spoken "in the name of the Lord" in response to the petition of priest, penitent or people. He notes Psalm 27 as an example of this thesis. The plea for help is responded to in v14: "Wait for the Lord; be strong and let your heart take courage; yea, wait for the Lord!" Perhaps these institutional prophets provided the intercessory prayer itself, to which another might respond. Eventually these responses acquired some regularity or stereotypical form enabling antiphonal formulae. "With this altered perspective on the prophetic function, it (is) possible to see priest and prophet....working for the furtherance of religion without continually being at cross-purposes." /16.

It is under this purview that the Psalm texts may be exegeted. The question arises: Do Psalms 40, 50, 51 and 141 reflect the influence of a mitigated prophetic polemic regarding sacrifice, or do they support an absolutist perspective? Furthermore, might they incorporate a more primitive substratum which denies the indigenous character of Israelite sacrifice?

2. The Psalms and Cultic Sacrifice

A cursory survey of Psalm texts provides sufficient incentive for investigating their relationship to sacrificial worship. For example,

Sacrifice and offering thou dost not desire;
 but thou hast given me an open ear,
 Burnt-offering and sin-offering thou has not required.
 Then I said, "Lo, I come; and in the roll of the
 book it is written of me;
 I delight to do thy will, O my God;
 thy law is within my heart.

Psalm 40. 7-8

This sentiment is seemingly echoed in Psalm 50.14: "Offer
 God a sacrifice of thanksgiving," or rather, in a variant
 rendering, "Make thanksgiving your sacrifice to God." The
 latter translation is certainly feasible when viewed in
 conjunction with v23: "He who brings thanksgiving as his
 sacrifice honours me; to him who orders his way aright, I
 will show the salvation of God!" Also, in Ps 51, succeed-
 the plea for "uprightness of heart," the Psalmist
 declares: "For thou hast no delight in sacrifice; were I to
 offer a burnt-offering thou wouldst not be pleased. The
 sacrifice acceptable to God is a broken spirit; a broken
 and contrite heart O God, thou wilt not despise." (vv15-17)
 In fact, the addition of vss 18-19 indicates (in a via
negativa) the intent of the anti-sacrificial polemic found
 in the previous verses. Similarly, Ps 141.2 petitions
 the Lord to hear the Psalmist's voice, such that "prayer be
 counted as incense.....and the lifting of hands as an
 offering sacrifice." At first glance, the "doing of the
 will of God", the "offering of thanksgiving", "a contrite
 heart" and "raised hands lifted in prayer" appear to
 replace cultic, sacrificial worship. The interior
 disposition of the suppliant constitutes authentic worship
 in lieu of "the blood of bulls and goats." (Ps 50.13). The
 question as to whether these anti-sacrificial polemics
 are to be seen as relative or absolute opposition,
 requires a closer examination of the texts.

Psalm 40

Most commentators discern two distinct psalms conjoined
 by a "seam" at v12, although other exegetes eg Ridderbos
 maintain the integrity of the text and label vv1-12 as
 introductory material. In vv1-11 we have a composition of
 thanksgiving rendered to the Lord "(who) drew (the

Psalmist) up from the desolate pit, out of the miry bog, and set (the poet's) feet upon a rock, making....steps secure.' (v2). Oesterley characterizes vv1-11 as expressive of gratitude for restoration to health. This segment is artfully connected to verses seen again in Ps 70, i.e. vv13-17, seemingly a prayer for deliverance. Sabourin stresses the Psalmist's deliverance from "danger of death", as a logical extension of the motive clause in v2; whereas successive verses denote a characteristic, but less specific, petition. This results, perhaps, from liturgical adaptation. Ps 40 is post-exilic in its present form. Oesterley dates both psalm segments as post-exilic: the former because of the repudiation of sacrifice and its stance regarding the Law; and the latter because of the opposition established (v16) between "those that seek thee" and Hellenized Jews.

Dahood translates v1 "Constantly I called Yahweh." /17 He notes that such a rendering of "qawah" does seem to mean "call" in other biblical texts, eg. Ps 52.11; Job 17.13. The once afflicted man has been drawn up from "the pit of noise" or, literally, "tumult" (Ps 88.3-5; Isa 14.15) rendered elsewhere as Sheol. This is shown by another parallel construction of "healing" and "Sheol" in Ps 30.2-3: "O Lord my God, I cried to thee for help, and thou hast healed me. O Lord, thou hast brought up my soul from Sheol, restored me to life from among those gone down to the Pit." Akin to Ps 27.5, "He will set me high upon a rock", here the author's restoration (v2) is acclaimed complete - attributable only to the Lord. Indeed, "he put a new song into my mouth, a song of praise to our God" (v3) with the result that "many will see and fear, and put their trust in the Lord" (v3b). "Very significant is the way the Psalmist ascribes to divine inspiration the psalm he composes...." /18, a point to be considered later with regard to v8. False idol worshippers are contrasted next with those whose faith is in the Lord, He who wondrous deeds and works are numberless. What is engendered is the desire to "proclaim and tell of them" (v5) in endless acclaim. But even as the Psalmist speaks of the "corporate works" of Yahweh, the wonders of Israel's history, "...the most fervent

...forgiving and eloquent witness to that greatness of God
 ...the hymnic praise of the congregation are not able to do
 ...ce to the divine reality." /19 Paradoxically,
 ...inability establishes the context for proper worship
 ...meated in vv6ff.

verses 6-8 are disordered and corrupt in the Hebrew text.
 ...theless, Oesterley notes: "Generally speaking, in the
 ...the sacrificial system is take for granted, which makes
 ...s) passage....all the more remarkable." /20

...ed, Weiser argues further that herein the poet
 ...historically pushes aside the whole sacrificial cult!"

"Sacrifice (zebah) and offering (minḥah) thou dost
 ...desire.....Burnt-offering ('ola, also called kalil) and
 ...offering (bata'th) thou hast not required." (v6) These
 ...sacrifices are declared unacceptable and lacking divine
 ...itiative". Exegetes claim this to be the resultant
 ...quence of prophetic polemics, Jeremiah in particular

...Briggs qualifies this observation. He dates the
 ...of D (Deut 12, 16) and E (Ex 23.14-19) before Hosea
 ...Micah. He contends that ritual sacrifice antedates
 ...Hebrew law and is not peculiar to Israel. As a
 ...sequence, ritual offering cannot be regarded as original
 ...the Hebrew people in virtue of the law of Yahweh. But
 ...important than an alleged indigenous quality to
 ...elite sacrifice, "they are incorporated in his Law and
 ...in a meaning, and that meaning is his command rather than
 ...sacrifices themselves. This is the unanimous consensus
 ...the prophets from Samuel onward." /22 Arthur Weiser
 ...urs: "this axiomatic repudiation of the whole
 ...sacrificial cult is to be accounted for...by...the wrong
 ...c attitude to God which is expressed in the sacrificial
 ..., and which in origin and nature was borrowed from the
 ...re of a different cultus." /23

...sacrifice offered to God by an impenitent people is
 ...inefficacious - an attitude strongly attested in
 ...thetic texts. But here, a sacrificial offering of
 ...forgiving for deliverance is acknowledged tenuous at
 ..., and, moreover, is repudiated in favour of v8, "I
 ...ght to do your will, O my God; thy law is within my
 ...t." For God has already given the Psalmist an "open

ear"; the Hebrew text is literally rendered: "ears thou hast dug for me." The divine initiative which now inspires the Psalmist (v3) also precedes the "doing" of the law and prepares for the true hearing of God. Accordingly Dahood translates v6, "made my ears receptive" and thereby "open to divine inspiration." /24 Admittedly, there are difficulties with the order and context of vv6-8. One commentator (Vogt) claims that vv7 and 8 to be subsequent additions to v6. Vogt theorizes that a marginal gloss wherein the "pious reader had scribbled his wish to abide entirely by the law" in response to the "Psalmist's liberal views on sacrifice" was later incorporated. /25 Briggs prefers to translate, "then had I the covenant," /26 whereas Ridderbos constructs a sense which proposes vv7-8 as a newly anointed king's ritual pronouncement to Yahweh, "...On the day of my coronation I presented myself before you with a copy of the law with me, symbolizing my intention of living according to thy will. I carry thy law in my heart." /27 The corrupt nature of vv6-8 generates these varied interpretations. One element, however, remains constant among all variant translations: the locus of authentic worship is interior.

Although Oesterley writes, "While the prophets strongly condemn sacrifice when offered in the wrong spirit, they did not condemn them if offered in sincerity of motive"; he also notes that "Jeremiah was the one exception, and with him the Psalms.....(40,50,51) (wherein) sacrifices per se are repudiated and a purely spiritual worship is advocated. This was an advance in religious belief and practice which was...characteristic of certain circles during the late post-exilic times." (Sacrifices in Ancient Israel, 1937, cf). /28 Therefore the "doing" of the internalized will of God, the Law, literally, "in the midst of my inwards" (cf 22.15) accords "with the teaching of Deut 30.10-13(14)" and in turn with v8. /29 Thus Ps 40.1-10 recalls supplication (v1); expresses deliverance (v2), exhortation (v4), proclamation of the mighty works of Yahweh and the rationale for praise (v5), repudiation of cultic, sacrificial worship (v6), interiorization of the locus of

ship through Yahweh's inspiration (vv3,8) and the
clamation anew of God's steadfastness "in the great
regation."(vv9,10)

It is at this juncture that Weiser extrapolate the
textual integrity of vv11f. The radical awareness of
the Psalmist is that of creaturiness and dependency. God
alone can save and set the heart aright. The illusion of
earning grace" via sacrificial offering is unmasked. In
prophetic mode, the "still, small voice" (Kings 19.12)
calls for obedience to the doing of Yahweh's will in trust
and faithfulness. It is this same confidence of faith
alone, according to Weiser, permits the author to petition

Verses 1-10 are propaedeutic because the Psalmist
expresses (and later expresses) the confidence to approach
God amidst tribulation - whether derived from external or
internal threat. Such is the "psychological trend" of the
psalm which accounts for Weiser's contextual interpretation
of vv11f. Although the integrity of vv11f is held by few
commentators, Weiser makes a significant point which ought
not to be overlooked. It is especially applicable with
reference to the sacrificial polemic of vv6ff:

What some expositors want to regard as an incongruity
in the psalm and as justifying its divisions into
heterogeneous portions, shows itself to be the tension
which is inherent in faith itself and present wherever
a genuine faith is in action. In the realisation of
this truth lies the realism of this psalm and its
trueness to life, things one should not seek to dispute.

/30

The Psalmist grasps this ambiguous tension, especially as
it pertains to authentic worship and cultic sacrifice.

Psalm 50

The same dynamic tension is embodied in Ps 50. The rib
theme, familiar in prophetic literature, heightens the
equivalence.

The present composition of the psalm dates from the
Babylonian period. The pre-exilic prophets' influence
(regarding psalm content) is not immediately evident. The
psalm reflects the "consolidation of the Jewish congregation

in the Persian period and the toning down of the fiery moral preaching of the prophetic movement which took place during the development of the Jewish "religion of the Law." /31 As a consequence, some expositors interpret Ps 50 in the manner of dialectical negation with regard to cultic sacrifice. Dialectical negation connotes a complete negation which is meant to be interpreted relatively. Still other exegetes (e.g. Weiser) see neither a muted prophetic influence nor a mitigated anti-sacrificial polemic. Mowinckel, for example, believes that Ps 50 "...has the form of a prophetic word, the severe lecture and admonition of a prophet with the emphasis on the commandments and with a conditional promise attached to it ...". /32 The psalm form and content therefore do exemplify the genre of pre-exilic prophetic reformers.

The setting for the psalm may be a festival of Covenant renewal due to the accent upon the Decalogical traditions and the commandments of the Covenant (Mowinckel). The internal structure of the composition is clear: (vv1-6) an awesome description of the Theophany introduces the text, and the sacrificial polemic proper follows (7-15). A descriptive disregard of Covenantal duties in vv16-21 and a concluding warning in vv22-23 (which re-iterates sections two and three) complete the psalm.

Dahood translates v1, "The mighty one, God the Lord" (RSV) as "The God of gods is Yahweh." /33 He thereby emphasizes Yahweh's supremacy. Unmistakeably, the Lord sits in judgment; he "summons the earth..." and calls to heaven above. The divine lawsuit, the rib, is thus constituted as Yahweh establishes heaven and earth as witnesses, so "that he may judge his people" (v4b). Similarly, he calls to himself the faithful ones who made covenant with him by sacrifice, for Yahweh alone is the righteous judge (vv5-6). The trial scene is ready.

Verses 7-21 present "the actual rebuke uttered by Yahweh. The section denounces in two (subdivisions) the dishonouring of God as expressed in the sacrificial cult (vv7-15) and in the moral life of the wicked (vv16-21)." /34. The union of these spheres - sacrifice and covenantal obligation - is a frequently attested

phetic theme. Here their interrelation is highlighted the juxtaposition with vv5-6 and reference to the initial sacrifice which accompanied the ratification of the Covenant and Israel's constitution as a nation. And who made them his own now testifies against them! (v7f) The challenge is awesome. "The zeal of the cultic offering is not to be reproved, but the Lord needs no offering of animals, he does not 'eat the flesh of bulls or drink the blood of goats', he is the owner of 'every beast of the forest and the cattle on a thousand hills'".

55 The chastisement is based on no mere rubricism. Yahweh enumerates forthrightly the terms of indictment: "you hate discipline" (v16) "you cast my words behind your back, ... you are 'friends' of thieves (v18), adulterers (v18b) and deceitful slanderers. Guilt goes beyond mere association with the wicked, rather the Covenant is actively spurned - as they participate in evil deeds. Actual reproof need not be explicit; it is rendered superfluous by weightier matters of the Law. Multiplicity of sacrifice - "your burnt-offerings are continually before me" - is of no avail. "I will accept no bull from your house, no he-goat from your folds." (v9) An indignant negative response is implied by the question posed in v13: "Do I eat the flesh of bulls or drink the blood of goats?" Even the most prized bulls of Bashan are worthless. Mowinckel notes not only an allusion to a primitive notion of satisfying a "god's hunger, but more immediately, to the carnivorous goddess Anath..... described as devouring the flesh of her brother Baal and drinking his blood."

56 This reference is further indicated because the deity, Baal, had sometimes been represented by a bull and was alleged occasionally to assume its form " e.g., ut 76: "for which in Hebrew is abbir is one of the words found in the...verse". /37 Yahweh is not Baal. "I am God, your God!" (v7)

Instead, what Yahweh desires is to offer a "sacrifice of thanksgiving, pay one's vows....and call upon him in the day of trouble." (vv14-15) Another rendering of v14 states: "make thanksgiving your sacrifice to God (RSV)." The two translations present an obvious difficulty. Is sacrifice being abrogated? Mowinckel believes that

"the influence of the reform prophets on the temple prophets and their oracles is not limited to mere outward form; it also includes the actual experience and, to a certain degree, even the content of ideas and the type of piety." /38 Does Ps 50 reflect such a shift of liturgical piety?

The above question is especially applicable with reference "...to the critical way....the prophets looked on the sacrificial cult; and to the claim for a more personal and spiritual temple service, for the offering of heart and personality and feeling and will rather than animals." /39 Is this development reflected in these verses? Cultic sacrificial offerings, although abundant, are unaccepted by Yahweh. Therefore, "...the Psalmist's positive demand is to offer to God a "sacrifice of praise". The cultic terms (according to Weiser), "to offer sacrifice" and "to pay vows" are retained, but...used...in a metaphorical sense, with the result that the materialistic cultic significance of the whole is abolished." /40 What must be inculcated is an inward disposition of true worship in accord with the ethical demands of the Covenant and thus the will of God himself. God does not need animal sacrifice and manifests no dependence on sacrificial worship. Rather, Weiser maintains that "...the attitude (of prayer)...alone befits a man in his relationship to God. It is on this level that true worship takes place....." /41 Furthermore, an interior renewal of prayerful submission is the sole remedy for a spiritually lax people. This reflects the "absolutist" interpretation of the polemic.

In a more moderate fashion, Mowinckel contends that Ps 50 "...testifies to a deepening and spiritualizing, even, to some extent, to a rationalizing of cultic religion (cf 50. 9ff), and insofar bears witness to the progressive line in the revealed religion of the OT." /42 He does not see vv9f, condemning sacrifice per se, nor as purporting the dissolution of cultic religion. In this manner, the Psalmist retains an element of sacrificial "validity", while yet envisaging a more spiritual worship. Oesterley, too, is in accord with this interpretation: "The time had not yet come for the abrogation of the

sacrificial system; but the Psalmist was preparing...minds for this...the contemplation of purely spiritual sacrifice." 43

Neither "absolute nullification" nor a "spiritualizing tendency of cultic worship" is acknowledged by still other commentators regarding v14. Briggs, and to a lesser degree, Anderson, exemplify a third interpretative school. They contend that the sense of "sacrifice of thanksgiving" is governed by the use of the verb zbh, meaning, literally, "to slaughter" /44, while "pay your vows to the Most High" (v14) "can only be understood of votive offerings." 45 Hence ritual, cultic sacrifice is integral to proper worship, despite the seeming polemic. Prayer and thanksgiving would necessarily accompany such an offering, and, therefore, are not to be viewed as antithetical to animal sacrifice. Indeed the emphasis is reversed. It seems a distinctive voluntary offering is outrightly encouraged. Anderson, however, is not fully convinced that this conclusion is completely defensible. Rather, he admits of the possibility that todah in fact might be used here to designate a hymn of thanksgiving (as in Ps 26.7; 2.4; 69.30). In his estimation, both alternatives are possible, although a sacrificial mandate is probable. The Psalmist, in such case, does not advocate abolition of sacrifice, but is concerned that "it...become a vehicle for expressing the right attitude to Yahweh, and a means of blessing for the worshipper." /46 The decision, however, whether sacrifice is indeed positively encouraged, reservedly tolerated or absolutely condemned, must await discussion of vv22-23.

The concluding admonition (vv22-23) summarizes the two preceding sections (vv7-15; 16-21) and significantly qualifies the former (7-15). Those who have forgotten the law of God are urged to become mindful "lest Yahweh rend and there be none to deliver!" (22). Furthermore, in v23, the Psalmist teaches that "he who brings thanksgiving to his sacrifice honors (the Lord); to him who orders his way aright, I will show..salvation". Covenantal obligation and the sacrificial polemic are thus taken up again. Indeed, the author unites a rectified manner of life with thanksgiving as THE sacrifice which honours the Lord! These summary verses, at the very least, substantiate a

mitigated sacrificial polemic and the spiritualizing tendency of the psalm noted by Mowinckel and Oesterley. Moreover, verse 23 might be interpreted as explicating the Psalmist's radical opposition to sacrifice as claimed by Weiser. In either case, Ps 50 marks a significant "prophetic" shift of piety. It is with reference to psalms 50 and 51 that Mowinckel writes:

The view of the prophets coincides with one tendency in the Psalmists: that of deprecating the sacrificial practices. But there is one basic distinction: the reform prophets emphasize the right fundamental relationship to God in faith, obedience and the social ethic, whereas the Psalmists emphasize the offering up of praise and prayer, the thanksgiving psalm and the penitential prayer.It is an outcome of ideas which might possibly grow out of the soil of cultic religion - out of the spirit prevailing in the tora liturgy - which are likely to have been stimulated also by the prophetic movement.

/47

Psalm 51

The prophet and the Psalmist are again "one" in Ps 51 with its emphasis upon a "contrite heart and a broken spirit" (v17). This psalm is most familiar of all the penitential psalms and is traditionally ascribed to "David when Nathan the prophet came to him, after he had gone in to Bathsheba" (v1, also 2 Samuel 11). Such specificity of attribution is doubtful, at the very least! The text has been variously categorized as an individual and communal lament. Briggs, for example, claims Ps 51 to be a collective penitential prayer of the congregation in the time of Nehemiah, cast in an "I-form" but representative of the nation. Other commentators propose that "the psalm be interpreted as a collective lament of the exile period"; thus v5 would refer to a guilty Jerusalem and the "crushed bones" of v8 and the "bloodguilt" of v14 would reflect exilic, prophetic themes as they pertain to the nation (Ezekial 7.23; 9.9; 37.1-14) /48 Mowinckel similarly identifies Ps 51 as a psalm of collective worship. Oesterley disagrees. He maintains

at the Psalmist speaks as an individual because "the personal note sounded all through the psalm, culminating in such words as "in iniquity was I brought forth".... (which) make it abundantly clear that the whole psalm is the outpouring of an individual in reference to himself." This observation has merit. In virtue, however, of the psalm's preservation in the Psalter, its individual expression of lament cannot be limited solely to the personal sphere. The incorporation of Ps 51 within the Psalter attests to its communal application although not written originally with this intention.

Setting

The original psalm (excluding vv18-19 which the majority of exegetes claim to be post-exilic additions) is generally attributed to the sixth century BC. The current textual composition cannot be dated later than the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem under Nehemiah in 444 BC.

Psalm 51 may be divided as follows: (vv1-2) A prayer for God's mercy and cleansing in virtue of Yahweh's steadfast love and abundant mercy. The terms, "Blot out".... "wash me".... "cleanse me" are paralleled by "transgression".... "iniquity" and "sin". The fervour and "intensity of the psalmist's penitence is shown by (these) reiterated expressions." /50 The author pleads that Yahweh should literally "un-sin" him. In verses 3 to 5 the penitent confesses transgression, acutely aware that sin is an offence against the Lord. The author declares, "I was brought forth in iniquity" and sinful from conception. This is not to be interpreted as a theology of "original sin", but rather a preliminary declaration that "the worst words of condemnation are justified and the sentence pronounced is vindicated." /51 In a related fashion, Good translates "transgression" as "my rebellious act", stating that "the root "p s" can be connected with covenant obligations on the part of vassal against his suzerain and the therefore acts of rebellion of the gravest nature." /52 These acts warrant God's just judgement, however distinguished. In verse 6 to 12 the penitent prays for wisdom or fear of the Lord; cleansing, joy and gladness; rejoicing; a re-created heart; forgiveness of

sin; a new and stedfast spirit; the assurance of "thy holy spirit"; the joy of salvation and a willing heart. All these requests are prefaced by the desire for "truth in the inward being" (v6) and, by inference, faithfulness. Perhaps the reference to "broken bones" implies the need for physical healing, and is not simply metaphorical. In vv13-17 the author vows to teach transgressors so that "sinners will return" to Yahweh. The poet, too, begs to be delivered from "bloodguiltiness" - at this juncture - a petition seemingly out of context. Many attempts have been made to harmonize this puzzling verse. Among the solutions offered are: "bloodguilt" resembles "silence" in the Hebrew text and is to be rendered as such (Gunkel, Oesterley); or, by a textual emendation, may denote the place of death, namely Sheol....the place of tears per excellence (Dahood). /53 Once heard, the suppliant will sing aloud of the gracious deliverance and proclaim the praises of Yahweh.

This fourth section also contains an anti-sacrificial polemic. In lieu of ritual sacrifice, a broken spirit and contrite heart are adjudged best; an already familiar prophetic theme. Verses 18-19 are post-exilic additions. These verses attempt to render the aforementioned polemic less stark in view of a "renewed" sacrificial cultus. Briggs and Dahood, however, maintain the authenticity and integrity of these verses. The former, based upon his communal understanding of the psalm; the latter, on the basis of metrical considerations.

As noted earlier, the psalm, as a result of the prophetic stance echoed by vv16-17, although originally applicable to the individual, was later broadened to have national application. The psalm's shift from the particular to the universal, from individual penitence to the national sphere, demands emendation. Although the point of evolution remains unclear, the original psalm suggests that, in themselves, sacrifices are of no merit and of no divine command. Furthermore, only as they represent something significant in the inner religious life can they be regarded as worthy expressions of the worship of God. /54 Indeed, G.C. Oxtoby believes that the Psalmist has been imbued with this

prophetic understanding of the sacrificial cult from Amos
 and, especially, Jeremiah. Oxtoby even declares that in
 51 "the rejection of the sacrificial system is
 complete." /55 Weiser notes that the Psalmist
 accomplishes a far reaching transformation of the notion
 of sacrifice. The sacrifice that God demands is a
 sacrifice of man's self-will and self-importance; in other
 words, the surrender of man's own self to God." /56
 This is an unquestionable demand which subsequent editors
 sought to modify in accord with their understanding of
 exilic worship and its national significance. Verses
 18 and 19 are, therefore, the understandable result of a
 redactor's longing for the restoration of Jerusalem,
 either during or immediately after the exile. The exilic
 period produced an unparalleled awareness of the nation's
 infidelity and sin, and, in addition, gave impetus to the
 messianic prophetic hope of restoration. It would be in the
 exilic/post-exilic era that the individual, penitential
 lament became pertinent to collective worship and demanded
 adaptation, hence vv 18-19.

Do good to Zion in thy good pleasure;
 rebuild the walls of Jerusalem,
 then wilt thou delight in right sacrifices,
 in burnt-offerings and whole burnt-offering;
 then bulls will be offered on thy altar.

Neither the sacrificial polemic nor the spiritualizing
 tendency of the Psalmist is fully obscured by the additions
 of the redactor. Indeed the transformation of the psalm
 attests to its original import.

The psalms previously discussed reflect a distinctive
 evolution in the piety of the people. Mowinckel
 summarizes the change succinctly:

The ancients, and certainly the Priesthood...put the
 main emphasis on the sacrifice as the means of winning
 the goodwill of Yahweh and bringing about atonement and
 blessing for the congregation and individuals. The
 Psalmists also knew how to prize sacrifice, but in an
 increasing degree they gave vent to the opinion that it
 is not the sacrifice of animals, but psalms of penance
 and thanksgiving, which are most congenial to the
 right relationship to God and what he demands from man.

Psalms 141

An example of this development is Psalm 141. The text is an individual lament incorporating a plea for divine deliverance. The Psalmist is helpless but for the assistance of Yahweh: "I call upon thee, Lord, make haste to me! Give ear to my voice, when I call to thee! (v1) Dahood dates this lament as pre-exilic due to Phoenician correspondences which "appear only in the eighth-century Karatape Inscriptions." /58 Most scholars, however, posit a post-exilic date of composition, among them Tournay (third century BC) and Oesterley (late post-exilic). The psalm mid-text has suffered considerable corruption and has therefore been variously schematized. One idea, however, is clear despite the structural difficulty: "prayer is remarkably compared to incense and the lifting of hands, that is, supplication (pss 28.2, 63.4, 77.2, 88.9) to evening sacrifice." /59 (for the contrary, cf. Briggs, ICC., p507). Moreover Oesterley claims that the psalm "foreshadows what in later days was to become actual fact; for in the synagogue the forms of prayer for daily worship corresponded to the original daily sacrifices." /60

Psalm 141, presumably, is offered during the time of the evening oblation (Lev.2.1). "The lifting up of my hands" (v2) continues a custom known in Canaan described in Ut, krt: "Lift up your hands toward heaven. Sacrifice to Bull, your father El; with your sacrifice make Baal come down." /61 Although the ritual gestures accompany the Canaanite sacrifices, there is no mention of accompanying animal offerings in this psalm text. Rather uplifted hands and prayer are reckoned as cultic sacrifices. The author then asks the Lord: "Set a guard over my lips....keep watch, ...and incline not my heart to evil." (vv3-4). Perhaps this is a reference to preservation from syncretistic worship. Certainly the concern for proper speech reflects the Wisdom tradition of Israel. Verses 5-7 are unclear in the Hebrew text, and perhaps were not part of the original psalm. Verses 8-10 reiterate the Psalmist's sole refuge in the Lord God, and continue the plea for deliverance. An element of retributive justice

includes the text: "Let the wicked together fall into their own nets, while I escape."

Whether the worshipper of Psalm 141 be living far from Jerusalem, i.e., a pre-exilic Israelite living in the northern diaspora after the fall of Samaria (Dahood) or actually present in the Temple with "eyes fixed on the Lord God" (v9a) (Weiser), it matters little. In either setting the notion of sacrificial piety has changed substantially. "The incense of...prayer wraps the worshipper up like a splendid ornament" before God. /62 The prophetic, anti-sacrificial polemics have thematically come to fruition in the offering of oneself in prayer to Yahweh. Simultaneously, there is an awareness of covenantal obligations and of utter dependence upon the Lord. The spiritualizing tendency, exemplified in the psalms exegeted above, is here complete.

Conclusion

At the outset it must be acknowledged that direct, prophetic influence upon individual psalmists is an inductive deduction. Greater or lesser probability is all that can be had. Consequently, both critical schools of absolutist or relativist sacrificial opposition have merit.

Psalm 40 clearly exemplifies the perceived dichotomy of ritual sacrifice as dissociated from "delighting in the will of God" (v8). Psalm 50 focusses upon the bankruptcy of sacrifice and the disparagement of covenantal concerns. Psalm 51 replaces cultic sacrifice with emphasis upon a "broken spirit and contrite heart", while Psalm 141 literally embodies with "the lifting of hands" and the prayer arising like incense. The shift of cultic piety is evident, if not yet complete. It is too simplistic to claim that cultic worship changed from a purely external locus to a wholly internal forum; or from sacrificial (material) worship to spiritual worship. Such conclusions require qualification. Nor is it possible to delineate distinct stages within the process. As with the entirety of Israel's faith life, psalmic evolution is sporadic - spurred on by historical events, e.g., the reform prophets, the Exile. The people's sitz im leben

generated broader and, consequently, adaptation and emendation of individual psalm prayers. The tension between cultic sacrificial and non-sacrificial worship, the material and the spiritual, the old and the new, is reflected in some textual ambiguity. This pertains also to the question of the indigenous nature of sacrifice, the prophetic stance toward the question, and the Psalmist's response to the prophetic polemics. Certain psalmic elements reflect the minority absolutist opinion. Others exemplify a mitigated perspective. Individual psalmists perhaps do preserve intact a primitive substratum of prophetic tradition which discounts the indigenous quality of sacrifice - either during the wilderness period or as subsequently interpreted by the cultus itself. The replacement of sacrifice with prayer would be a logical outcome of such an attitude. The rationale is clear. Since God had not commanded ritual sacrifice at the time of Israel's constitution as a people, it is to be viewed as a transitory stage toward perfect spiritual worship. Such an understanding would undoubtedly meet staunch resistance. These psalms, however, may not reflect this radical opposition with regard to the indigenous nature of sacrifice. It is not essential that they do so. But, unquestionably, the psalms demand the transformation of cultic worship with a distinctive spiritualizing trend. And even this process would be intentionally obscured by subsequent redactors! Certainly the compilation of cultic psalm prayers would not strongly reflect an attitude in opposition to the prevailing, cultic, sacrificial practice. Psalmic polemics would be excised or emended to bring the psalm into liturgical conformity and usage. Obviously this type of psalm would be infrequent in the Psalter. Textual evidence, therefore, is necessarily limited, but what we have is unremitting in its cultic challenge and exemplary of a corresponding change in piety. The psalms examined echo the prophetic call to authentic worship.

Notes

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29. Briggs, p355
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42. Mowinckel, p22
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Ideal Figures in Ancient Judaism

A Review

Martin McNamara

The figures of ancient Judaism and the traditions connected with them have been favoured subjects for studies over the past century. One thinks of B. Beer's Leben Abrahams nach Auffassung d. jüdischen Sage, in Jahrbuch f.d. Geschichte der Juden u.d.Juds, 3, 1863, 11-64. E. Carmoly had earlier written on "La légende de Moïse" (Rev.Orientale 1, 1841, 373-82). L. Ginzberg has woven many such legends and traditions into a continuous narrative in his monumental Legends of the Jews (7 vols., Philadelphia, 1969ff.)

Already in 1889, P. Billerbeck had published his study: "Abrahams Leben und Bedeutung für das Reich Gottes nach Auffassung der Ältesten Haggada". The title already indicates the use of Jewish traditions for theological purposes. P. Billerbeck's Kommentar zum NT aus Talmud und Midrasch (4 vols, 1922-1929) would use these traditions as the NT text indicated. In our own day, the study of such Jewish traditions has become more intense and scientific, whether as regards OT personages or individual traditions connected with them. We need only recall such works as Moïse, l'homme de l'alliance in Cahiers Sioniens, 1964, especially section 2 on Moses in Judaism, the various studies of G. Vermes, R. Le Déaut and others besides. Readers of this journal will know of the use made of such traditions by some Christian scholars for the elucidation of the NT e.g., the Binding of Isaac (Aqedah), the well of Jacob, and the objections raised by others regarding this, because of the uncertain date of the traditions in question, most of which tend to be drawn from rabbinic sources.

The present work, edited by John J. Collins and George W.E. Nickelsburg, Ideal Figures in Ancient Judaism, Profile and Paradigms (Scholars Press for SBL, 1980; pp.xii,258; \$19.95 (cloth), \$11.95(paper)), is a very welcome addition to the study of the subject. Unlike most of those noted above, this collection of essays deals in the main, not with rabbinic Judaism but Jewish literature of the period between Alexander the Great and Hadrian. This primary focus, the editors tells us (p3), is not to deny the

relevance of rabbinic literature for the understanding of Judaism in the earlier period, but to recognize that, in its present form, the rabbinic corpus reflects the interest of a later age, and the use of rabbinic literature to clarify the concerns of the period before Bar Cochba, requires a careful sifting of traditions. This seems to be a far cry from G. Vermes' principle, held by other scholars, that unless there is specific proof to the contrary, the haggadah of the Palestinian Targum is likely to antedate the outbreak of the Second Jewish Revolt in AD 132."

This present volume of essays has been well planned, with the result that an attempt is made in each to identify the setting, message and function of the presentation of the different ideal figures studied. An Introduction (pp1-11) under the name of both editors gives us the history of the volume and the plan of the work. In the preface, however, Nickelsburg tells us that the main lines of the volume were sketched by John J. Collins, who also carried on detailed correspondence with the authors and prepared the main part of the introduction. An indication of the contents will give an initial idea of the work's richness:

The righteousness of Noah by James C. Wanderkam; Daniel; the Philosopher, Holy Man, by David Satran; Good and Bad Leaders in Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum by J. E. Nickelsburg; The "Anointed of the Lord" in the Psalm of Solomon 17, by Gene L. Davenport; The ideal "Egyptite", the Davidic Messiah, and the Saviour Priest in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, by Anders Hultgård; The Heavenly Representative: The "Son of Man" in the Similitudes of Enoch, by John J. Collins; The portrayal of the Righteous as an angel, by James H. Charlesworth; The Visionary, by Susan Niditch; The Wisdom of the Scribe according to Ben Sira, by Daniel J. Harrington; The Martyr: Synoptic View of the Mother and Her Seven Sons, by Robert C. Martin; The Charismatic, by Sean Freyne; 11 essays in all.

All that can be expected in a review like this is to give a general idea of the contents of a few of these studies.

The first treats of the righteousness of the Biblical Noah and Mesopotamian Flood-Hero, Noah's righteousness in Palestinian, Intertestamental literature (before and after the Flood) and the literary function of Noah's righteousness. The sources mainly used are Jubilees, 1 Enoch and Josephus.

In late first-century AD sources, we read, one encounters the motif of Noah as a preacher of righteousness to his antediluvian fellows - with citation of Josephus, Antiquities 1.3.1(74) and reference to 2 Peter 2.5 and Hebrews 11.7. The theologians, Vanderkam tells us, who compiled the books he has studied, employed and edited the stories about Noah and his times because of their intense concern with the eschatological judgement and the righteousness that would guarantee salvation on that day (p27). For them, Noah had become, not merely a moral paradigm, but an eschatological model. While welcoming this redactional criticism, one may be permitted to observe that the tradition attested in Josephus (late 1st century), away from his homeland and Palestinian tradition since AD 70, is likely to be much older, and presumably even before our era.

Collins in his essay also speaks of the concept of righteousness in the Similitudes of Enoch. He disagrees with Milik's late dating of these and notes that the scholars who have examined Milik's theory have rejected it vigorously and have reaffirmed a date in the first or early second century of our era. The Similitudes, Collins remarks, can no longer be left out of account and the "son of man" figure must be recognized as a significant representative of one Jewish ideal of righteousness. The "Son of Man" of the Similitudes, he notes, is not a personification of the righteous community but is rather conceived in mythological fashion as its heavenly Doppelgänger. It is characteristic of mythological thinking that such a Doppelgänger is conceived to be more real and permanent than its earthly counterpart and prior to it in the order of being. While the "son of man" is conceived of as a real being, he symbolized the destiny of the righteous community both in its present hiddenness and future manifestation (p116). With regard to the concept of righteousness in the work, it is said in the Similitudes that the son of man has righteousness, that righteousness dwells with him. Righteousness in this context, Collins writes (p117), is an attitude of rejecting the world and having faith in the Lord of Spirits and "son of man". The righteousness of the human community comes through faith, not law, but

th is not conceived as antithesis of law. We should
 , however, exaggerate the analogy with Pauline
 iistianity. The concept of the 'son of man' in the
 ables is close to that of the NT, but is however
 elligible as an inner Jewish development, arising from
 pre-eminence of Enoch as righteous man and revealer and
 tradition of his translation into heaven. However,
 does grant that the development may be a reaction to the
 iistian appropriation of the 'son of man' for Jesus.

James Charlesworth gives us a preliminary report of his
 study of certain texts in which a person from Israel's past
 portrayed as an angelic being. The texts are from
 ten separate works, both Jewish and early Christian, from
 turn of the era and from the early centuries of this
 ;: 2 Enoch, the so-called Conflict of Adam and Eve with
 an, the Apocalypse of Sethel, the Prayer of Joseph, the
 yer of Jacob, the History of the Rechabites (recently
 ted by J. Charlesworth himself incidentally) and the
 tament of Solomon. In his conclusion Charlesworth says
 t "Cumulatively they (i.e. these texts) - in quite
 ferent ways - point to a concept that seems to have been
 eloping within Judaism prior to the second century C.E:
 ures in Israel's past, especially Adam and Jacob, could
 portrayed as angels; other, notably the Rechabites,
 ld be thought of as having been transformed into angels.
 ve Jews conceived of the possibility for the faithful -
 bably only a very select few - to transcend humanity and
 ome angels. The author of the Prayer of Jacob
 arently held out this possibility for Jews faithful in
 yer to (and perhaps mystically united with) God." (p145)
 s all links up, we may note, with the view that considers
 t the 'son of man' in Daniel 7 is a symbol for angels and
 th similar concepts in Qumran texts.

In his study of the leaders in Pseudo-Philo, Nickelsburg
 ces the emphasis in the work on covenant and covenant
 edience. On many occasions, when Israel is brought low,
 eir status as the covenantal people is reaffirmed, and in
 e stories of Ammon and Balaam, the covenantal relationship
 described in effect as being eternal. God will not
 rget his promises. He will not let Israel be totally
 troyed. With regard to the historical setting of the
 ok's composition, Nickelsburg thinks of the Jewish war.

He notes that the closest parallels occur in the apocalypses of 2 Baruch and 4 Ezra, both of which, he remarks, were written in the wake of Titus' destruction of Jerusalem. However, with a reference to Bogaert's edition of the Antiquities (Pseudo-Philon, pp67-70), he states that "arguments for the post-70 dating of the Antiquities rest on very shaky grounds", which, however, does not deter Nickelsburg from arguing for an immediate post-70 date, i.e., that the situation described in the Antiquities would fit rather well into the circumstances of the Jewish war...and the oppression, dissolution and despair, spawned by the events of 70 (p63). As against Bogaert's pre-70 date, some scholars such as P.R. Davies and B.S. Chilton opt for a date AD 70-135 - a date that suits their view on the development of the Aqedah theology. It is interesting to see an immediate post-70 date being propounded by Nickelsburg on different grounds.

Robert Daran is one of the few writers in the volume to make extensive use of rabbinic material. He compares the martyrdom accounts in 2 Maccabees chapter 7 and the rabbinic texts Pesiq. R. 43, B. Gittin 57b and Midrasch Lamentations 1.16. On the analogy of the Christian martyr stories, he believes that the account in Pesiq. R. 43 is typologically the earliest. It is brief, prosaic, with little literary expansion (This, of course, does not argue for chronological priority). This typologically earlier account, he says, would have developed into the narrative of 2 Maccabees, and in a different manner in that of B. Gittin 57b, in which, among other things, he notes, the problem of the Aqedah is introduced (with reference to P.R. Davies in Journal of Jewish Studies 3, 1979, 59-67, for recent discussion on the dating of the Aqedah).

Sean Freyne takes issue with Geza Vermes on the interpretation of some rabbinic texts on Hanina ben Dosa. Like Vermes, but in his own way, from the scant evidence available to us, he attempts to trace the history of the figure of Hanina in Jewish tradition from the pre-70 Jamnia period down through Amoraic times. In his study he examines the miracle story tradition, sayings and exegetical material and texts in praise of Hanina. Arranging these in the context of history, he would with Vermes and Neusner tend to place Hanina historically as "a man of deed" before AD

and cast in the role of a charismatic healer. Early it is claimed, Hanina, the "man of deed" would have been assimilated to the other type, the hasid, although assimilation does not appear to have been completed in the early Jamnia period. From the Usha period (post 135) might come the miracle stories, said to have been worked in favour of two outstanding rabbis of the Jamnia period, with a further development of this ideal figure during the Amoraic period, both in Galilee and Babylon, e.g. Hanina as the perfect talmid, and as recipient of a bath (ie "daughter of a voice"; cf. accounts of Jesus' baptism in various commentaries).

The essay on the visionary by S. Niditch makes rewarding reading, especially in the light of the new evidence in favour of interest in merkabah mysticism already in the pre-Christian era. Niditch's study examines the evidence on the visionary both in pseudepigraphic and rabbinic literature.

This, indeed, is a book that can be warmly recommended to students of the intertestamental period, and also of rabbinic Judaism. Although, strictly, a study of Jewish themes, it should also prove interesting and informative to scholars. It reveals to us part at least of the Jewish world in which the early Christian message was formed, a world mentally alert, conscious of its ancient traditions and of the new and changed circumstances which required that old moulds be abandoned and new ones fashioned in order to have the fathers of their faith continue as ideal figures with a message for new situations. Among other things, this book shows us that the gospels are not the only books composed in the Jewish world of the first century. The first century and that preceding it saw many literary compositions, compositions that are as much the subject of redaction-criticism as the Christian gospels.

The Daily Study Bible:

Genesis, Volume II (chs 12-50), J.C.L. Gibson.

Exodus, H.L. Ellison

St Andrew Press, Edinburgh. £2.95 each vol.

In this second batch of volumes in The Daily Bible Study Series (for the first batch, see IBS, Vol.4, April 1982, 101-107), Dr Gibson concludes his treatment of Genesis and H.L. Ellison works his way through Exodus. It is a distinct improvement to find that in both these volumes the verse numbers are printed in the text.

Genesis, Vol. II. Chapters 12-50

At the end of Volume I (in chapter 11 of Genesis) God was about to launch his offensive to redeem man. At the beginning of Volume II, with God's call to Abraham to leave Mesopotamia, we have "in effect the first act of the Gospel." In three major sections dealing with Abraham, Jacob and Joseph, Gibson expounds this first act and its sequel. Its understanding is assisted by five maps and over three hundred pages of text and comment, including several extended notes on matters requiring further elucidation. As we take our leave, we find God's clan in Egypt, somehow mysteriously being used by him in his purpose of redemption.

Gibson looks at the patriarchs from every possible angle, and shows their virtues and their vices along with the meaning of their lives for God's servants today. This volume has the same vigorous style and fresh approach as its predecessor and its author displays the same ability to engage intriguingly in extended discussion of a point as and when required. It is a long volume - but then Genesis is a long book - and certainly he who endures to the end will know a great deal about himself - and his God - than he did at the beginning.

Exodus

Anyone writing a commentary on Exodus is faced with the thrilling - and daunting - task of dealing with events which helped bring Israel into being and which

provided her with the basic structures for day to day living and worship. Many of the stories in this great drama of God's salvation still retain their freshness after more than three millenia but the Christian of today is at times hard put to find much contemporary relevance in some collections of ancient laws or in lists of instructions about the construction and furnishing of a tent shrine in the wilderness. H.L. Ellison shows himself to be a wise and reliable guide as he takes us through both types of material. He divides Exodus into nine sections, with daily portions which should occupy the reader for over two months. He is not concerned to wring the last drop of truth out of every little detail of the text, but concentrates rather on the main thrust of each portion and in appendices at the end of the book provides a little more discussion on three problem areas - Jethro, the name Yahweh, and the hardening of Pharaoh's heart.

Four things impressed me in Ellison's handling of Exodus:

- 1. His ability often to bring in Jewish interpretations to throw light on the understanding of a verse.
- 2. His stress on the "plain meaning" of a passage. This results in a restrained and balanced treatment of such topics as the Plagues or the Tabernacle where imagination can so easily run wild. For example, in dealing with the latter topic, Ellison gives a brief, straightforward treatment of the tabernacle and all its works, followed by a most useful section entitled: "The Christian and the Tabernacle", which is a fine demonstration of how to use the OT in a Christian context.

- 3. His irritation with the question of "sources". While accepting the truth of his comment (in dealing with 6.2-27) that "we shall try to grasp the implications of the passage for ourselves in the form in which the final editors have handed it down to us", it is surely also true that most readers are aware of certain problems in the text, problems which may or may not be eased by some of the theories on sources that have been put forward. Even though the debate continues in this disputed area, a few pages of introduction to such questions might have enabled some readers to consider other possibilities in the interpretation of some of the material.

- 4. The ability of one who stresses the "plain meaning" of

the text himself to speak so plainly, with a wonderful economy of words and the delightful gift of painting a memorable picture with a few strokes of the pen. For example, in discussing the theophany on Mount Sinai in chapter 19 we have this fascinating sentence: "In fact, in the life of Jesus of Anazareth we have the perfect example of the divine 'walkabout'".

A careful reading of this book will enable the Christian reader not only to find fresh meaning in events with which he is already familiar but also to realize that even seemingly irrelevant passages have their contribution to make to our understanding of the ways of God with men then and now.

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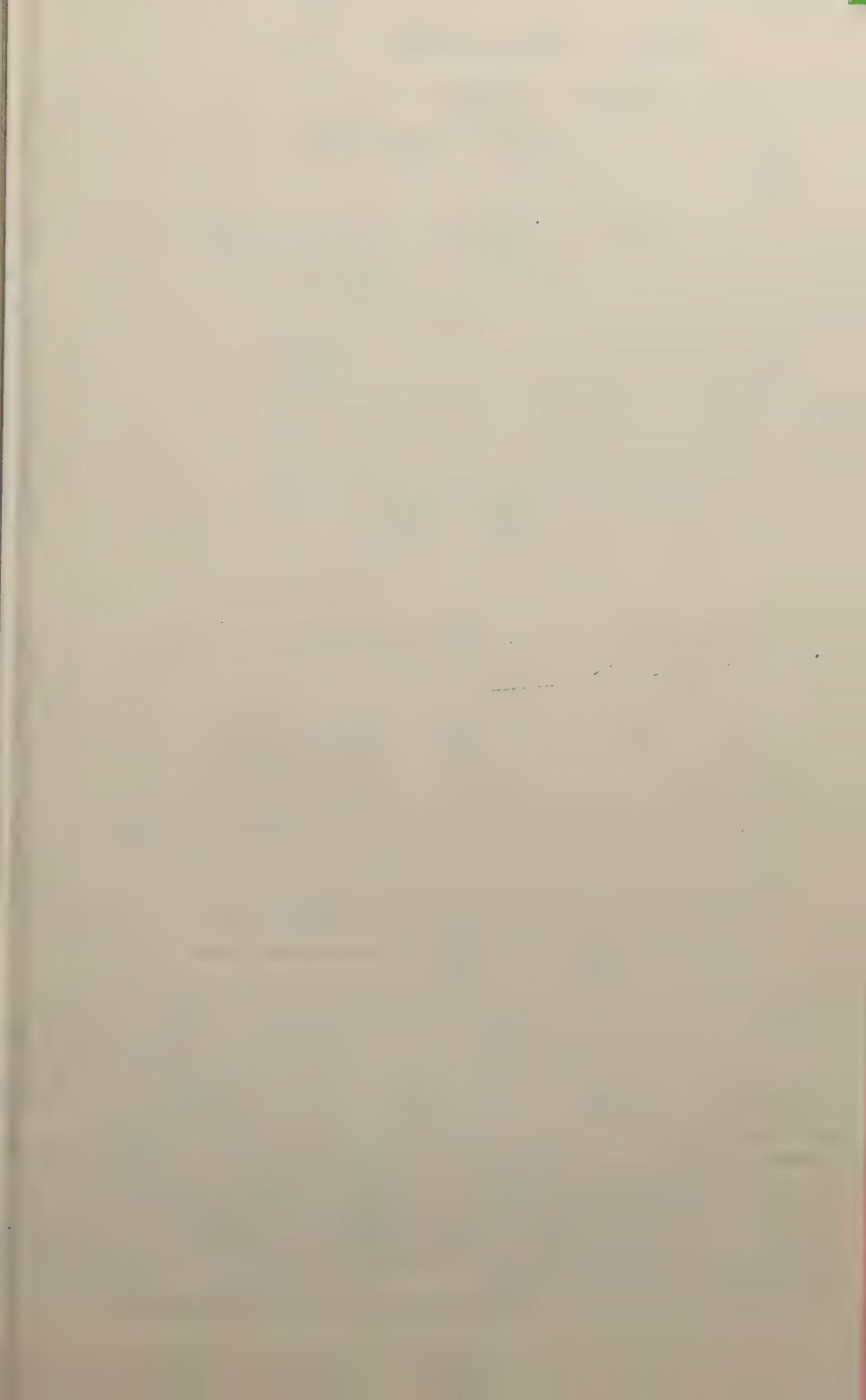
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C.K. Barrett, Essays on Paul

SPCK London 1982 £10.75, pp x + 171

Many scholars and students will welcome the publication in one volume of these "Essays on Paul", making readily available essays, widely scattered in journals or in Festschriften, and written over the period from 1963 to 1976. In the preface, Professor Barrett, in the course of explaining why he gave in to the request to publish the essays, mentions that the essence of what he has to say about Paul was to be found in his commentaries on Romans (1957), on 1 Corinthians (1968) and on 2 Corinthians (1973) and in the book, "From First Adam to Last" (1962). This, no doubt will make those who possess these volumes treasure them all the more and perhaps apply themselves the more assiduously to finding out just what this essence is.

This, however, does not make the essays unnecessary for matters considered in the commentaries are dealt with more fully in these essays, and even on occasions from contrasted points of view. The essays, again and again, represent detailed, sensitive and skilled examination of many Pauline texts and require a great deal from the reader. For the purpose of this short review, it appears the best plan to set out the nine essays in turn, and to select aspects that appeal to the reviewer most as interesting and significant.

In the first essay, entitled "Christianity at Corinth", Barrett deals with the integrity of the letters (cf essay 7) the parties, sophia and gnōsis, and gives special consideration to 2 Corinthians, chapters 10-13 which Barrett insists must be treated separately since it is directed against "strangers who intrude themselves into the church from without." (p14). He accepts that there is a Christ party on the grounds that when the material is taken out that links suitably with the other three parties, "there remains a well-defined body of opinion...consistent with itself and explicable in the context of events in Corinth." (p5) Such a Christ-group has for its watchword Christian freedom whether not to touch a woman or to indulge in sexual licence. (p13)

The second essay, "Cephas and Corinth" considers the

position of Peter in the development of the primitive church as still undetermined but gives special attention to the evidence present in the Corinthian correspondence (cf. 1 Cor.1.12;3.22;9.5;15.5). The general conclusion is that Peter did exercise an influence on the church which through his Jewish-Christian supporters was proving hurtful to the church, since it preached a different Jesus (2 Cor 11.4). The key to the problem Barrett finds by analogy in Gal 2.12. He maintains that it was not Peter who was primarily responsible but those who affected to represent him. Peter's heart was in the right place but he was easily put off and became a figure-head of the less scrupulous, ecclesiastical politicians. "Hence Paul's embarrassment. He could not simply repudiate Peter; yet Peter, in the hands of those who made use of him, was on the way to ruining Paul's work at Corinth." (p38)

Essay 3 deals with "Things sacrificed to idols", taking into consideration evidence from the so-called Apostolic decree of Acts, Revelation, Romans ch.14 and writings from the primitive church: the Didache, Justin's Trypho and the Preaching of Peter (a writing which appears to stand behind the Pseudo-Clementine literature) - indicating that Jewish Christians continued to observe the Apostolic decree. Significant points include the fact that Paul, in allowing the eating of meat offered to idols, was allowing what elsewhere in the NT is strictly forbidden; that in Corinth Paul "had to walk the tightrope between the legalism of Jewish Christianity and the false liberalism of gnostic rationalism. That he was able to do this is one of the clearest marks of his greatness" (p56)

Essay 4 deals with "Paul's opponents in 2 Corinthians", in the course of which Barrett examines critically the views of D. Georgi (ie that the adversaries were Jewish Christians but did not use specifically Jewish methods) and of G. Friedrich (that they were Hellenistic Jews). After discussing the implications of certain texts in 2 Corinthians chs 10-13 - he confines himself to this section - he concludes that the opponents were Jewish Christians of varying degrees of orthodoxy whether conservative or liberal whereas that of Paul was evolutionary Judaism (p82). Essay 5 deals with the

related problem of the "false prophets" (pseudapostoloi) (2 Cor 11.13) where his method is to explore in various NT writings compound words formed on pseud- eg "false brothers" (2 Cor 11.26) or "false witness" (1 Cor 15.15) or "false prophets" (Lk 6.26; 2 Pet 2.1; Matt 7.15) and then to examine relevant texts in 2 Corinthians and Galatians, and 2 Thessalonians 2.2 and concludes that it is Jewish, or rather Judaizing Christians whom Paul accuses of deliberate falsehood (p97). They, too, had accused Paul of being a false apostle (cf Gal 1.10 and 5.11) and Barrett suggests the following lines of understanding: Paul was accused of being a "false apostle", as not fulfilling the requirements of the true Jew; He returns the charge and this, claims Barrett, indicates that the "false apostles" of 2 Cor 11.13 are Judaizers; the rise of false prophets and Jewish perversion and rejection of the Gospel - all of this was to Paul an eschatological phenomenon (p113).

In Essay 6, dealing with the Ho adikēsas ('He who did me wrong': 2 Cor 7.12), Barrett identifies him as not a Corinthian but as one closely associated with the Corinthian church. It was he who, as a visitor to Corinth had claimed special privileges, who had called Paul's position and authority into question and insulted him. In this the Corinthians were clear of blame except that they did not take Paul's part urgently enough (p113f). Essay 7, dealing with Titus, is notable for an outline, by way of conclusion, of Paul's dealings with the church at Corinth. Cf. p128). Essay 8 is a detailed examination of Romans 9.30 to 10.21 to elucidate what Paul is really saying here (p150f) in reply to his own question, "Why has Israel not accepted the Gospel?" What God has been seeking through the law and under the gospel is that all, whether Jews or Greeks, should be saved. Here we have spelt out the provisional nature, even the failure of election (p151). Essay 9, "The Allegory of Abraham, Sarah, and Hagar in the Argument of Galatians", attempts to make up for the comparative neglect of this passage in Galatians.

These essays will repay careful study by student, minister and scholar alike. They show how detailed and intricate the problem of an understanding of Pauline thought and argument is. No one can help but benefit from

each judicious and discerning essays.

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Henry Cooke - R. Finlay Holmes, Christian Journals Ltd., Belfast, Dublin, Ottawa (1981)
pp. 214. £10.

It is well known that Dr. Henry Cooke did not keep a regular diary, nor leave any literary remains except for some sermons, speeches and lectures and his revision of Brown's Self-interpreting Bible. When asked to consider writing his autobiography he refused, saying "No man can be trusted with a full and honest development of his own character, thoughts and acts. There are secret springs and motives at work within him, which he dare not reveal, which indeed it would be folly to attempt to expose to the world's eye".

Despite the lack of personal papers, and perhaps keeping in mind Cooke's cautionary words, his son-in-law, Dr. J.L. Porter, was able to produce a laudatory portrait of him in the Life and Times of Henry Cooke (1871). Since then other studies, some eulogising, some debunking him, have been presented to the public. The latest is that by Professor R. Finlay Holmes, who gives the most detailed examination and analysis of the man and his methods, yet attempted.

R.F. Holmes has acquainted himself with every possible source of material relating to his subject - newspaper accounts, presbytery and church committee minutes, sermons, addresses, books, pamphlets, reminiscences of contemporaries, and the hitherto untapped correspondence between Cooke and Sir Robert Peel, the English Prime minister; and Dr. Thomas Chalmers. In so doing he has uncovered much that is new about Cooke and his times. He examines in some detail Cooke's opposition to the Arians in the Synod of Ulster, his attitude to the National Education Act of 1831, the Voluntaryist Conflict, Tenant Right, the founding of Magee College, his support of the continuation of the established Church of Ireland,

his defence of Irish Presbyterian Marriages, and his great interest and involvement in the politics of Belfast, etc.

In the process of his investigations he explodes some of the myths which have gathered around Cooke, e. g. that he used religion for political ends; that he was a reactionary without a social conscience; that he was a servant of the interests of landlords; and that he turned the Ulster presbyterians from radicalism to conservatism. At the same time he clearly shows that Cooke was a most domineering character, who often behaved more like a proud prelate than a humble presbyter; that on occasion he could arouse and appeal to the passions of the crowd; and that he was one of the founding fathers of Ulster unionism.

His verdict – and it is one with which all who read the book will agree – is, that "there were several Henry Cookes" and that "one obvious lesson of Cooke's career is that men of God are still sinners, prone to identify their own and their church's interests with the cause of God's kingdom in the world. Like many church leaders before and since, Cooke allied himself with powerful elements in his world and, in so far as his church has followed him, and identified with sectional interests in Ireland, it has failed to be the church of Jesus Christ and the true servant of all the Irish people".

R. F. Holmes has an attractive style which makes for easy reading and both he and his publisher are to be congratulated on the production of what will be known as the definitive biography of Henry Cooke for many years to come. It is to be hoped that it will have a wide readership and that it may become compulsory reading for all present and future students for the Irish Presbyterian ministry.

W. D. Baillie.

